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**SUPREME**

THE N.I.R.A. DECISION A

**COURT'S**

SIGNAL FOR INTENSIFIED

**CHALLENGE**

ATTACKS ON THE WORKERS

**TO LABOR**

By WM. F. DUNNE

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## INTRODUCTION

THE Communist Party of the United States of America issues this small pamphlet on the Supreme Court decision declaring N.I.R.A. unconstitutional both as a *call* and a *guide* to action for American workers and their organizations.

The C.P.U.S.A. is the only political party in this country that from the inception of the N.I.R.A. warned the workers against its deception, demagoguery and its *danger* to the interests of all working people.

The C.P.U.S.A. pointed out to American workers that N.I.R.A., its codes, its army of mediators and its labor boards were methods concerned mainly in hampering effective union organization, in postponing and preventing decisive strikes, in fooling workers into putting their trust in the government and its hangers-on pledged to the support and maintenance of capitalism, its wage slavery, its brutal plunder of the whole working population, to its wars of conquest and the preparations for such wars.

The C.P.U.S.A. has again and again called attention to the strong fascist tendencies and the use of fascist methods against workers under N.I.R.A.

N.I.R.A. was to a considerable extent successful in postponing, confusing and weakening the struggles of workers to organize and better their conditions at the expense of capitalism.

But it has outlived its usefulness. Too many workers no longer believe in it or its promises, or its leaders and sponsors. The general staff of monopoly capitalism is anxious to clear the battle ground on a nationwide front

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for a new offensive against the working class—to lower wages, to speed-up still more the workers, lengthen hours and cripple or destroy unions. Therefore the decision of the Supreme Court.

The Communist Party of the United States states with the utmost emphasis at its command that the *working class faces today the most serious moment of the whole six years of the crisis*. The question is: Will the American working class go into the coming major class battles with its ranks divided or will it unite all forces to drive back the offensive of its class enemies?

The C.P.U.S.A. fights for the united front of all labor forces. It calls for the speediest possible building of this united front. It calls upon the Socialist Party, the American Federation of Labor, the Railway Brotherhoods and independent unions to join in the movement for unification of all the forces of Labor and its allies against the program of hunger, fascism and war, upon which the most powerful sections of the capitalist class—monopoly capital and the Wall Street banks—are united.

Without such unity in action, labor faces disastrous defeat. With the organization of the united fighting front of labor on the basis of determined mass struggle, in defense of the interests of the working people, American workers can go forward sure of immediate successes and final victory.

This pamphlet is written to clarify the issues of, and to help in solidifying the fighting front of the working people for, the coming decisive battles.

## THE SUPREME COURT'S CHALLENGE TO LABOR

THE N.I.R.A. DECISION A SIGNAL FOR INTENSIFIED  
ATTACKS ON THE WORKERS

By WM. F. DUNNE

THE Supreme Court decision declaring the National Industrial Recovery Act unconstitutional is a gauntlet thrown in the face of every working man and woman in this country. It is a license issued by the highest court in the land—the Court of Nine Kings—to every robber corporation and individual employer in this country to proceed with new attacks on wages, hours and working conditions, on all social standards and all basic democratic rights.

This challenge must and will be answered by united action of the forces of labor. The destiny of millions of working people is involved.

The Supreme Court decision says in effect that *all* social legislation secured through federal channels is unconstitutional. Closely following its adverse decision on the Railway Labor Pensions Act in which it slammed the door on all similar legislation; accompanying the decision on the farm mortgage moratorium in which the Supreme Court upholds the right of holders of mortgages to evict and seize the farms and city homes of all who are in default, the Supreme Court has once more sanctified property rights as against the welfare and lives of human beings—especially directed against those who work for a living.

*The Supreme Court has re-affirmed the "constitutional" right of the trusts and monopolies, of the Wall*



*Street banks, of the House of Morgan, of the Rockefellers, of finance capital, in a word, it has re-affirmed the right of the capitalist class to rob and rule the working class without restraint.*

At this time, when the United States has been made into a gigantic poorhouse for the working population, when hunger and want have been lodged as permanent guests in the homes of half the working population and linger on the doorsteps of the other half, the Supreme Court decision, its tone and language being of far more importance than the formal declaration, is a call to the multi-millionaires who caused the mass misery, *to strike once more at the living standards of all working people in the name of the constitution and 100 per cent Americanism.*

But it is not the death knell of N.I.R.A. sounded by the Supreme Court that is an alarm signal for the working people of the United States, their unions and other organizations. *It is the extension of the main purposes of N.I.R.A. inherent in the Supreme Court decision that is packed with sinister meaning for all workers—and that calls for quick and united action, for the unification against all attacks of all forces of the working class and all its organizations.*

#### *What Were the Main Purposes of N.I.R.A. and the Roosevelt Administration?*

The main purpose of the National Industrial Recovery Act—and of all its subsidiary measures—*was to preserve capitalism and put the whole burden of recovery on the working population by means of demagoguery and deception.*

There is *no* other way for capitalism to recover except by increased robbery of the working people. Since

President Roosevelt and his advisers like Moley, Tugwell and others have stated time and time again in speeches and articles that N.I.R.A. was a measure to bring about recovery *within* the present system, that it in no way was in conflict with the general interests of the capitalist system, it follows that it was *not* a measure for bettering the economic and social conditions of the working class. It was, on the contrary, a measure and a method of lowering the standard of living of the workers throughout the country.

N.I.R.A. was a method of proceeding *against* the whole working population—industrial workers, transportation workers, store and office workers, professional workers, *in the interests of monopoly capital.*

Accompanied by newspaper, film and radio demagoguery about “the forgotten man”, carried through on a wave of false promises which hit a responsive chord in the hearts of some 16,000,000 unemployed and destitute workers, ruined farmers and bankrupt small business men, N.I.R.A. was at first looked upon as the way out of the morass of misery, for millions, the breakdown of capitalism has created.

There is nothing more despicable in the long record of deception of workers practised by representatives of the rulers—with the possible exception of Hitler’s lies—than the way President Roosevelt and the horde of servile “liberals”, time serving professors, kept economists and corrupt labor leaders he gathered around him, played upon the hopes and fears of the working people of America. Socialist Party leaders helped along in this, declaring N.I.R.A. a step toward Socialism.

#### *What Did N.I.R.A. Do For Workers?*

The test of any and all measures that are paraded as in the interests of the working class is: *Did the general*



*status of the working class—economically, socially and politically—as against that of the capitalists, improve?* The answer, so far as N.I.R.A. judged by this test is concerned, must be NO!

What happened under N.I.R.A.?

First of all, more than 500 industrial codes were worked out by representatives of the employers and their organizations—National Manufacturers' Association, the National Chamber of Commerce, the Bankers' Association, etc. Labor had no representation on these code authorities.

Dominating these meetings was General Hugh Johnson—N.I.R.A. administrator, former head of the John Deere Plow Company, a subsidiary of the International Harvester Company—a monopoly—and the man who organized conscription "to make the world safe for democracy" in 1917 under the Morgan-controlled Wilson administration.

Under the guise of "restoring employment", with Johnson's lying promise that 6,000,000 workers would have employment by September, 1933, wages were reduced to new low levels by many devices—either by actual cuts in the hourly rate, by changing the classification of various groups of workers so that they came under a lower scale, or by part-time work. Permanent mass unemployment of millions remained.

The truth about the reduction of the working week under the codes is that it was nothing more nor less than the old Walter C. Teagle (Standard Oil of New Jersey) "share the work" plan, endorsed by President Green of the A. F. of L., by which employment was *not* increased but a larger number of workers *divided* the jobs, lowered the average wage—and *spread and shared hunger and slow starvation.*

The wages of skilled and higher paid workers were reduced by the codes. In the textile industry a dead level of \$13 per week for the North and \$12 for the South was established. Weavers and other skilled workers had their wages flattened out.

*What Did Clause 7-A Do For Workers?*

The main appeal to American workers for N.I.R.A. and the Roosevelt administration was made in behalf of Clause 7-A which was supposed to guarantee the right of workers to "bargain collectively" with their employers.

President William Green of the American Federation of Labor, and the other high-salaried "labor leaders" who made N.I.R.A. the official platform of the A. F. of L., hailed Clause 7-A as "a new Magna Charta" for labor. At the 1933 convention of the A. F. of L., Washington, D. C., these leaders and the official delegates did nothing but sit at the feet of Roosevelt and his administrators and cabinet officers, listen with fawning approval to their speeches and reply in kind. No word of criticism of N.I.R.A. or its purposes and provisions was uttered.

Workers, especially in the almost completely unorganized basic industries, steel, auto, textile—and other industries as well—took Clause 7-A seriously. They believed in it—and in N.I.R.A. They began to organize. They did not wait for labor officials in Washington to send organizers. Local leaders took charge. Rank and file organizing committees were formed.

But the employers refused to concede the right to organize. They refused to "bargain collectively" with the unions or their representatives.

The newly organized workers were sure the government and N.I.R.A. would whip the employers into line.



But, much to their surprise and disgust, the N.I.R.A. and Labor Board representatives sent into strike fields told the workers who, after four years of suffering during the crisis, had organized and gone into action to get wage increases and recognition of the union, that "your strike is interfering with the President's recovery program. Go back to work, send a delegation to Washington and everything will be settled satisfactorily".

This method was followed in practically every industry by the official labor leaders, by the mediators and conciliators of N.I.R.A., its code authorities and labor boards.

At the same time, police, the National Guard, the bands of armed thugs in the service of the corporations were clubbing, gassing, jailing and shooting workers in every important strike.

This procedure—deceptive promises by government officials and labor officialdom on one hand, and the widest use of armed forces against workers ever witnessed in this country, on the other hand—was followed during the whole life of N.I.R.A.

The foreign-born workers were special targets of attack. Arrests and deportation processes increased. But it was upon the Negro workers in the basic industries of the North and South that special forms of terror were inflicted. It was to intimidate them and prevent their organizing that a new wave of legal and semi-legal lynchings was organized and a new series of murders of Negro workers by secret armed bands launched. These were the important jobs N.I.R.A. was doing for monopoly capital.

#### *What Was the Response of the Workers to These Attacks on the Right to Organize?*

Under the pressure of the capitalist offensive against

wages, working conditions and civil rights, new developments took place in the American labor movement—developments of historic importance marking a turning point in class relationships in this country!

First, there was to be seen an unprecedented solidarity between the unemployed workers and strikers. This has become so marked that strikebreaking by unemployed workers practically disappeared as a method that could be used effectively by the companies for smashing strikes. Instead, organized and led by the Unemployment Councils, jobless workers appeared on the picket lines in ever increasing numbers. This was something that the employers had never figured on. It upset all their calculations.

Second, there came into the labor movement huge new contingents of workers from all industries who had never before been organized or seriously taken part in labor struggles for better wages, union recognition, etc. They looked upon the unions as weapons for use in obtaining better wages and working conditions—at once. This sound idea brought a new spirit into the A. F. of L. unions whose official leadership was more concerned with its positions than with getting something for the membership by open struggle.

Third, a nation-wide revolt against company unions began. These were not acceptable to industrial workers even in their so-called "liberalized" form. (N.I.R.A., and the supine policy of the A. F. of L. officialdom, had encouraged the growth of these embryo fascist organizations until, late in 1934, it was estimated that some 45 per cent of industrial workers had been forced into these organizations and that in the steel industry some 85 per cent of the workers had been coerced into membership in these corporation-dominated "employee representation" organizations.)



Fourth, these big mass movements developed a stubborn character never before seen in this country if we take into consideration the fact that the workers involved had little if any experience in union organization and industrial conflicts. This is shown by the *length* of the strikes in the face of the unexampled use of demagoguery and force of all kinds against them, and the use of which was sanctioned by N.I.R.A. and Roosevelt by silence. To this day Roosevelt has never said one word against the use of any and all kinds of force against strikers, unemployed and the Negro masses.

There was and still is to be seen the policy of these rank and file workers of never surrendering—shown by the wave of strikers, who would return to work under pressure of governmental interference and betrayal by official labor leaders, then re-strike at the first opportunity, and *strike again* if the employers did not come through with at least a substantial part of the original demands.

Fifth, there was an increase of sympathetic strikes in industries and in various industrial communities. The first of these mass movements was in Centralia, Illinois, where the whole working-class community struck in sympathy with some 400 shoe workers.

Today, following the mass strikes of electrical machinery workers in Toledo, the strikes of truck drivers and helpers in Minneapolis, the strike of metal miners in Butte, Anaconda, Great Falls (Mont.), and the metal miners in Alabama (50 per cent of them Negroes), the coastwise strike of the maritime workers on the Pacific Coast, followed by the general strike in San Francisco and the Bay Counties in support of them, *there is no important strike that does not at once bring up the issue of a general strike.*

Sixth, there is to be seen a *growing instability* in the official A. F. of L. leadership. The control and the diminishing prestige of these leaders are maintained only by some concessions to rank and file sentiment and by continuous promises that the "government will give them justice", by raising the issue of industrial unionism, etc.

The main slogan of these official leaders now is: "The employers kept Clause 7-A from being enforced. Wait for the President to act. Wait for the Wagner Bill."

Seventh, there is to be seen the advent of enormous numbers of the Negro people into mass struggles for equal rights, against lynching and other less horrible forms of national oppression. There have been such basically important struggles as those of the Negro masses in Harlem against discrimination, segregation, inferior social status in other forms, for equal rights in relief and for jobs.

Eighth, there is the constantly growing mass support for the Workers' Unemployment, Old Age and Social Insurance Bill (H.R. 2827) against the unscrupulous opposition of A. F. of L. officialdom. It has been endorsed by several thousand A. F. of L. unions, Central Labor Bodies and State Federations. It secured 53 votes in the House of Representatives—a significant sign of the mass demand for compulsory federal unemployment insurance financed by turning over the military and naval appropriations to the unemployment insurance fund, and by high taxation of all incomes over \$5,000 per year. The demand that the rich be taxed to support the unemployed becomes ever more popular.

Ninth, there is a marked growth of anti-militarist, anti-fascist and anti-imperialist war sentiment among great masses of people. This movement in the schools, colleges and universities has received the most attention

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in the press, but there can be no doubt that it is far more widely spread in the ranks of wage workers.

Tenth, there is to be seen in unmistakable form the development of a new corps of leaders from the ranks of the unions and from among unorganized workers when they go into action. These new leaders are workers who got their training during the crisis. They represent the interests of the great mass of workers as the so-called "recognized" leaders do not and will not.

Eleventh, many of these great mass movements have developed or are developing a definite political character. That is, they tended more and more under N.I.R.A. to take place and continue in defiance of N.I.R.A., its administrators and boards. This has been especially true in coal mining at one period, in steel, auto, marine transport (longshoremen, seamen and other maritime unions), truck drivers, aluminum workers—in basic industries.

Twelfth, the rapid spread of the influence of the Communist Party and its press among these masses of workers is another and fundamentally important proof of the political development of large sections of strikers and unemployed engaged in these struggles.

#### *Why Was N.I.R.A. Declared Unconstitutional?*

After the first flood of demagogy and promises for popular consumption in which N.I.R.A. was baptized, Roosevelt appeared more and more openly as the savior of capitalism. The old Hoover policy of hundreds of millions of dollars in "loans" to railroad and other profit-making institutions was revived. The Securities Bill was re-written to suit Wall Street.

Roosevelt's new six-point program, worked out in agreement with the Durable Goods Industries, the Chamber of Commerce and the National Manufacturers' Asso-

ciation, became the official N.I.R.A. program. It included in essence anti-working class measures now in effect:

One, the cutting of millions of unemployed from the federal relief rolls and their return to the tender mercies of the bankrupt cities and states. Two, workers on relief projects to receive less than the prevailing wage in private industry (a maximum of \$50.00 per month, now changed to the notorious \$19-\$94 which actually lowers the starvation average of the previous proposal). Three, the main emphasis to be put on self-financing projects that would not compete with private industry. (No one ever discovered what this really meant except that it reduced the scope of relief work—maintained the staunch American principle that government should under no circumstances compete with private industry and weaken that rugged individualism characteristic of Vincent Astor, Pierpont Morgan, stickup men and burglars.)

President Roosevelt vetoed the bonus in spite of the great popular support for it. The bonus payments would have given temporary relief to hundreds of thousands of needy and hungry veterans. But finance capital was against the bonus payment—just like it is against unemployment insurance. It would have given great impetus to the demand of the Communist Party that the bonus be paid by taxation of the rich—especially of those who, like DuPont and Baruch, etc., made millions out of the last war. So Roosevelt vetoed the bonus payment law.

#### *The Military and Naval Appropriations—Mobilizing the Youth—War Maneuvers*

Under Roosevelt and N.I.R.A. the largest peacetime naval and military budget has been voted in the history of any country. Its size has astounded the world. More than \$1,000,000,000, in one way or another, has been



handed over to the War and Navy Departments. Naval building is going on at war-time speed. The army is being enlarged and systematically mechanized.

The continuous naval maneuvers in the Pacific, accompanied by huge fleets of aircraft, the dispatch of a squadron to the Far East, the "war games" that are played around the Panama Canal and in the Gulf of Mexico, are, to anyone who knows that battleships are not built, armies mobilized and war games played for fun, irrefutable testimony that American imperialism and its government has war in mind as a way out of the crisis.

Six hundred thousand young men have been recruited for the Civilian Conservation Camps. They live under semi-military discipline. They are given just about the army pay. They are there as an army reserve any time Wall Street and its government needs them for war.

It cannot be said that under N.I.R.A. the war monger capitalists have not done well. They have their differences—but these differences are over the question of how best to drive the working class to still lower levels to raise profits.

*Where Is the Chief Responsibility for the  
Deception of Labor By N.I.R.A.?*

None of the policies, acts and measures could have been adopted without much mightier struggles than have taken place, nor could they have been effective in delaying and confusing these mass struggles, had it not been for the unconditional support given N.I.R.A. by the A. F. of L. officialdom. Some of their acts and utterances have already been mentioned.

These officials have opposed federal unemployment insurance from the very beginning. They have supported each and every policy of the Roosevelt administration.

Even where employers agreed to the right of workers to organize, as in sections of the coal mining industry, John D. Lewis, head of the United Mine workers, signed them up under an anti-strike, penalty clause contract.

President Green endorsed the Roosevelt company union settlement in the auto industry in 1934. He appeared at the Pittsburgh convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers and pledged the word of President Roosevelt that they could get the right to organize and their grievances adjusted—if they only would not strike. The steel workers believed him at the time. But they are still waiting for recognition and adjustment of their grievances.

In the textile industry the general strike was broken by two methods—official betrayal and the unstinted use of force against the textile workers. Eight were killed outright and hundreds wounded and jailed.

In the rubber industry the workers were induced to wait for a court decision, a meaningless agreement was explained to them as a victory—and the company union still does business at the old stand.

In metal mining the craft union heads tried to split mechanics away from the miners and smelter workers in their strike of last summer.

The list could be extended to include practically every industry in the country. Everywhere the workers found a combination of government agents and official union leaders against them.

These leaders bear the main responsibility for the evil wrought upon workers under N.I.R.A., for the failure to take advantage of the tremendous militancy of the working class and its determination to build a powerful labor movement in the United States.

But one thing is clear: in spite of all that the Roose-



velt administration and its army of strikebreaking agents could do, in spite of the "truce" agreed to by the A. F. of L. leaders, their adoption of a no-strike, no more organization policies for the time being, no more attention to "small grievances" (*Washington Dispatch*, Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance, April 16, 1935); in spite of their attempt to substitute waiting for Wagner Bill for strike struggles, strikes *did* take place this spring. They took place in the auto parts industry, in marine, in lumber, in steel and in some less important industries.

These strikes struck panic into the hearts of the big capitalists. They had placed their faith in N.I.R.A. and to some extent at least in the A. F. of L. leaders, believing that they could and would prevent struggles with such dangerous tendencies. (It has already been mentioned how every important strike today tends to bring forward the general strike issue.)

The situation was becoming more acute daily. Prices of the necessities of life were rising. Wages were being reduced. There was nationwide dissatisfaction with N.I.R.A. among workers—more and more they disregarded its administrators and its labor leader sponsors.

Under such circumstances, when it is necessary for the official union leaders to stage a general one-hour political strike (to support N.I.R.A.) to divert the attention of masses of organized workers from measures in their own interests, the beneficiaries of monopoly capitalism may well worry.

The New York demonstrative strike was a dangerous expedient for the A. F. of L. officialdom. It was only last July that President Green denounced the West Coast general strike, said that sympathetic and general strikes were against A. F. of L. policy, and declared that American labor rejected the political strike as a weapon.

Well, "different times, different birds, different birds, different songs". If the official leaders can call for general political strikes so can rank and file leaders. So can the Communist Party.

The Supreme Court decision came shortly after. The question is asked: Why, if N.I.R.A. had for its purpose the maintenance of capitalism at the expense of the working people of this country, did the Supreme Court declare it unconstitutional? We will let the *New York Times* answer first. On May 28 it said editorially:

"The Recovery Act had done its work, the chief benefit of which was to stir the people into *hopeful* activity and had come to be almost universally regarded as a piece of legislation now obsolete and *ineffective*. \* \* \* \* The judges simply pronounced to be dead a statute which the great mass of the people had already decided to be dead."

In other words, monopoly capital had decided that N.I.R.A., the smokescreen of demagoguery and deception, had served its purpose, that it was time to dispense with it.

It seems to be clear from the above quotation, the editorial comment of one of the most conscious organs of capitalism in the United States, that the Communist estimate of N.I.R.A. and its purposes was entirely correct.

### *Some Remarks for Americans*

We Americans, that is, the people who really built this country, no matter what their national origin, birth or descent may be, must, in the light of the new theories of Supreme Court decisions, answer the question: What kind of a democracy is this and for what kind of people does it operate?

We Americans, and especially those of us who work for a living, have been parading before the whole world



as a people in a large measure separate and distinct and immune from the tyrannies of a ruling class that develops out of feudalism.

The recent Supreme Court decisions on the Railway Labor Pension Act, on the Frazer-Lemmke Mortgage Bill and on N.I.R.A. (although the Supreme Court concedes to N.I.R.A. humanitarian purposes that it never possessed), is a challenge to all American working people. We have been boasting about our democracy—we have bragged about our system of popular government which came into force before the popular revolutions in France and other countries.

But on the basis of the present class relationship in this country it must be said that so far as absolute power is concerned the present structure of American government, dominated as it is by a handful of multi-millionaires and billionaires, is able to bring to bear against the overwhelming majority of the population, and this majority works for wages, more concentrated power than the feudal lords and the monarchies which superseded them were ever able to wield.

#### *What Is To Be Done About This?*

The Communist Party of the United States, unlike the hysterical liberal elements who supported N.I.R.A., Socialist Party leaders, the A. F. of L. officialdom, is not panic-stricken by the Supreme Court decision. As far as N.I.R.A. is concerned, this decision recognizes an existing fact. But, it is a call to the ruling class of this country, which, confused by the crisis, has to some extent divided its efforts by subjugating the working class and its allies, to unite its forces and engage in a decisive struggle to lower the living and working standards of the masses—

a struggle in which the Supreme Court and the monopoly capitalists its represents believe will bring victory to the exploiters and to finance capital which unites them all in a solid front against the working population of the United States.

#### *The Program and Tactics of Struggle Against the Program of Wall Street Capital*

The Communist Party of the United States, with the utmost conviction as to the correctness of its program, calls upon all working-class organizations to unite against the organized offensive of monopoly capitalism and its program of hunger, fascism and war. The Communist Party says with all the emphasis at its command that the American working class today is facing the most critical period in all its history. There are times when words have served their purpose. The C.P.U.S.A. believes that this is one of those historic periods. Organization and action is what is needed today.

The Communist Party of the United States urges all workers and all honest leaders of workers' organizations to endorse and fight for the following program:

The organization of a mass anti-capitalist Labor Party in which all genuine unions and working-class political parties shall have representation. The Communist Party of the United States stands for a Labor Party that will be the political expression of the exploited masses of this country, a party that will take an uncompromising stand against the daily encroachments of monopoly capitalism and that will be a major instrument in the unification of the American working class, its allies among the exploited farmers and the doubly oppressed Negro people in the fight against hunger, fascism and war.



### *A More Effective Structure for the American Labor Movement*

The Communist Party of the United States works and fights for industrial unionism. The Party believes that this is the most effective form of organization for American workers. It believes that no other form of organization can organize and bring to victory the struggles of workers in the basic industries for the right to organize, recognition of the unions, better wages and working conditions and at least some control over the job.

### *How We Will Bring This Program Into Life*

In every local union, in every Central Labor Body, in every workers' fraternal organization, bring these questions up. Work out resolutions, the adoption of which will commit your particular organization to this program of struggle. Work only on the basis of majorities. Leave all the inner maneuvering, intrigue, demagoguery and snap-judgments to the trade-union bureaucracy. Think only in terms of winning the majority of the members of your organization for this correct program and for the tactical line of struggle.

### *What Have We Got to Be Proud Of?*

We workers made this country what it is. We workers conquered the forests and we built the factories. We operate them. We built the railway systems. We run them. And when we say workers, we mean Negro and white, native and foreign born and everybody who depends for his living on laboring for a wage or salary. This country belongs to us. Our only fault has been that we allowed a handful who never worked but who claimed that they were rulers to take our country from us.

The time has come to take it back. It will not be so very hard to do this. If we believe this country belongs to us, and it does, the workers organized in the unions of this country and their sympathizers among the unorganized workers, and in other groups of the population, can take this country and its marvelous production machinery and make it begin to produce for use, for a better life for the working multitudes, instead of for the profit of the handful of multi-millionaires.

History is on our side. What we need is organization and the conscious direction to a common goal that only the Communist Party gives. We do not have to be ashamed of our ancestry, whether we are workers or intellectuals. We workers, led by the Communist Party, are those who will save what we call civilization from reversion to barbarism. It might be well to remember as we organize for the decisive battles that are inevitable in the near future some of the things our people have said:

"Out of the dark we come,  
Marching into the day.  
The night is gone,  
Our swords are drawn  
And the scabbards are thrown away."

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Published by  
WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS  
P. O. Box 148, Sta. D, New York City  
June, 1935



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